

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH
THE WHITE HOUSE FLASH

S E C R E T SECTO 03033

NODIS CHEROKEE

WHITE HOUSE FOR PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI FROM
SECRETARY VANCE

DEPARTMENT FOR ACTING SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS), PFOR, UR
SUBJ: FOURTH MEETING WITH GROMYKO ET AL.

1. LATEST SESSION WITH GROMYKO HAS JUST ENDED AFTER
3 HOURS. WE CONTINUED ON MIDDLE EAST, AND THEN
TOOK UP OTHER ARMS CONTROL ISSUES, INCLUDING COMPREHENSIVE
TESTS BAN, INDIAN OCEAN AND ARMS TRANSFER. SALT DID
NOT COME UP, AND NOW IS TO BE DISCUSSED TOMORROW AFTERNOON
ACCORDING TO DOBRYNIN. EXCHANGES BECAME MORE LIVELY,
AS GROMYKO GREW TESTY ON INCIAN OCEAN AND ARMS
TRANSFER. SOME PROGRESS MADE ON TEST BAN, HOWEVER.

2. GROMYKO BEGAN BY SUGGESTING WE TURN TO TEST BAN,
BUT AS I INDICATED IN MY EARLIER REPORT TO YOU, I
WANTED TO PRESS HIM ON THE MIDDLE EAST, AND DID SO.
I BEGAN WITH QUESTION OF GUARANTEES, AND INDICATED
THAT WE COULD PARTICIPATE, IF AGREEMENT REACHED
ON A SETTLEMENT AND GUARANTEES SEEMED NECESSARY
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TO FACILITATE FINAL AGREEMENT. I SAID THAT FINAL
DECISION WOULD BE UP TO CONGRESS, BUT WE WOULD RE-
COMMEND PARTICIPATION. I ASKED WHAT EXACTLY HE
HAD IN MIND IN MENIONING GUARANTEES AS ONE OF
THREE PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS. HE REPLIED THAT THERE
WERE TWO POSSIBILITIES (1) TO A GUARANTEE THAT WOULD
BE INCORPORATED INTO THE FINAL SETTLEMENT ITSELF, OR

(2) A SEPARATE DOCUMENT; IN ANY CASE THE IMPORTANT POINT WAS THAT NOT A SINGLE COUNTRY WOULD DARE TO VIOLATE THE AGREEMENT, IF BOTH THE US AND SOVIET UNION PARTICIPATED IN THE GUARANTEES.

3. I THEN TURNED TO THE THIRD MAJOR ISSUE OF DEFINING THE NATURE OF THE PEACE; THE FIRST TWO ISSUES BEING BORDERS AND THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. I SAID THAT ARABS AND ISRAEL WERE DIVIDED ON WHETHER PEACE MEANS MERELY AN END TO THE STATE OF WAR, OR ESTABLISHING NORMAL RELATIONS. I ADDED THAT THIS WAS MAJOR PROBLEM FOR THE US AND SOVIETS TO THINK AND CONSIDER HOW WE MIGHT BRING OUR POSITIONS TOGETHER. FOR OUR PART WE CLEARLY FAVORED GOING BEYOND MERELY THE STATE OF WAR. GROMYKO REPLIED WITH A DISCOURSE ON WHAT "NORMAL" RELATIONS MEANT, BUT DID AGREE TO CONSIDER WHAT WE COULD DO TOGETHER ON THIS PARTICULAR QUESTION.

4. WE HAD A BRIEF GIVE AND TAKE ON WHETHER HE AGREED TO NORMAL RELATIONS AS THE GOAL, AND WHETHER OUR POSITIONS COINCIDED, AND FINALLY, WHY THE SOVIETS DID NOT ESTABLISH NORMAL RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.

5. I THEN TURNED TO PROCEDURAL PROBLEMS THAT WOULD ARISE IN ORGANIZING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE TO EXAMINE THE DIFFERENT SUB-ISSUES, AND SAID THAT AS CO-CHAIRMEN WE WOULD HAVE TO THINK MORE SERIOUSLY ABOUT THE
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PROCEDURAL ASPECTS, BECAUSE I HAD ATTENDED MANY CONFERENCES THAT BOGGED DOWN AND WASTED TIME ON PROCEDURES. I ALSO BROUGHT UP RESTRAINT ON ARMS TRANSFER IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND PRESSED GROMYKO ON WHY PRIOR RESTRAINT MIGHT NOT BE A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION. HE TOOK THE STANDARD LINE THAT QUESTION WOULD BE SOLVED IN CONTEXT OF A GENERAL SETTLEMENT, BUT NOT BEFORE.

6. WE THEN TOOK UP CTB, AND I ASKED FOR GROMYKO'S RESPONSE TO YOUR POSITION. AFTER SOME HISTORICAL REVIEW, HE THEN PROPOSED THAT WE AGREE TO A CESSATION OF WEAPONS TESTS FOR SAY, ONE AND A HALF TO TWO YEARS, CONDITIONAL ON OTHER WEAPONS STATES ADHERING TO THE AGREEMENT WITHIN THAT PERIOD. IF THEY DID NOT ADHERE, BOTH SIDES WOULD BE RELEASED FROM THE AGREEMENT. HE SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED PNES FROM SUCH AN AGREEMENT AND CITED THE PNE AGREEMENT OF LAST YEAR AND HIS HOPE THAT IT WOULD BE RATIFIED.

7. I BEGAN BY SAYING THAT WE WOULD URGE THE SENATE TO CONSIDER THRESHOLD, TEST BAN, AND PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSION TREATIES OF LAST YEAR, BUT CALLED HIS ATTENTION TO THE PROBABILITY OF SOME OPPOSITION, UNLESS WE COULD SHOW PROGRESS TOWARD A CTB. I SAID THAT HIS PROPOSAL WAS QUITE INTERESTING BUT THAT EXCEPTION FOR PNES CAUSED ME PROBLEMS, BECAUSE IT WOULD ENCOURAGE NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES TO PROCEED TO ACQUIRE A WEAPONS CAPABILITY. I ALSO POINTED OUT THAT OUR EXPERTS HAD CONCLUDED THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO EXCLUDE THAT PNES WOULD HAVE BENEFITS FOR WEAPONS PROGRAMS. LATER, A VERY INTERESTING EXCHANGE TOOK PLACE, IN WHICH L. V. SMIRNOV, WHO HEADS THEIR MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, SIMPLY SAID THAT OUR EXPERTS COULD COME AND OPEN THEIR NUCLEAR DEVICES AND SEE FOR THEMSELVES. I ASKED IF THEY ACCEPTED THIS STATEMENT, BUT GROMYKO
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QUICKLY WALKED AWAY FROM IT. WE DID AGREE TO BEGIN A MEETING OF EXPERTS IN THE NEAR FUTURE COVERING THE ENTIRE SUBJECT OF THE CTB, AND I PROMISED WE WOULD GIVE THEM A DATE FOR SUCH TALKS.

8. I THEN TOOK UP NON-PROLIFERATION AND EXPLAINED THE POSITION YOU WOULD BE TAKING ON OUR DOMESTIC PROGRAM AND ITS INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS. HE WAS RESPONSIVE AND SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS WE COULD JOIN WITH UK AND MAKE AN APPEAL TO SPEED UP ACCESSION TO THE NPT. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THEY WERE FIRMLY OPPOSED TO PROLIFERATION AND THAT THIS WAS A POLITICAL ISSUE, NOT SOLELY TECHNICAL. I SAID THAT YOU WOULD APPRECIATE HEARING THIS VIEW. HE SUGGESTED "REGULAR" CONSULTATIONS ON THE ENTIRE COMPLEX, AND I SAID THIS WOULD BE WELCOME, AND IT WOULD GET BACK TO HIM ON THE SETTING UP A REGULAR SCHEDULE OF FOLLOW-ON MEETINGS ON NON-PROLIFERATION.

9. GROMYKO THEN INTERJECTED THEIR PROPOSAL TO BAN NEW WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, AND APPEALED FOR A JOINT EFFORT ON THIS MATTER. I BROUGHT UP TOUGH QUESTION OF VERIFICATION, ESPECIALLY IF AN AGREEMENT WAS TOO BROAD AND GENERAL. I AGREED WE WOULD CONTINUE BILATERAL TALKS ON THIS, IN ANY CASE AND SPECIFICALLY WITH RESPECT TO RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS.

10. ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, I SET FORTH OUR INTEREST IN A SERIOUS EXPLORATION OF THEIR VIEWS, ESPECIALLY ON QUESTION OF ELIMINATING BASES, LIMITING NUMBERS OF SHIP-DAYS FOR WARSHIPS AND DEFINING THE PRECISE AREA TO BE COVERED. GROMYKO LAUNCHED AN ATTACK

ON DIEGO GARCIA WHICH HE CLAIMED WAS POINTED
AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION, AND HAD INTRODUCED A
"NEGATIVE FACTOR" IN OUR RELATIONS. I THEN
RAISED THEIR BASE IN BERBERA, WHICH HE REPEATEDLY
AND STRONGLY DENIED WAS A BASE BUT ONLY FOR SUPPLYING
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SOME FOOD AND WATER. I CUT IT SHORT BY SAYING WE
WOULD SUPPLY THEM INFORMATION ON THEIR MILITARY
FACILITIES AT BERBERA.

11. HE WAS MORE CONCILIATORY ON THE QUESTION OF
LIMITING SHIP DAYS AND FINALLY GREED TO AN EXCHANGE
OF VIEWS ON THE WHOLE QUESTION, INCLUDING DEFINING
THE AREA COVERED BY THE "INDIAN OCEAN."

12. I ENDED THE SESSION BY PRESSING HIM TO AGREE
TO RESTRAINT IN ARMS TRANSFER, CITING BOTH THE MIDDLE
EAST AND AFRICA AS CONCRETE CASES. AFTER SOME TESTY
REMARKS ABOUT OUR ARMS TRANSFER, TO IRAN AND ISRAEL,
HE AGREED TO EXAMINE THE GENERAL QUESTION. HE WAS
CAREFUL TO STRESS THAT THERE WAS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD
OF AGREEMENTS UNLESS WE GOT TO THE ROOT OF THE
POLITICAL PROBLEMS.

13. WE WILL MEET AGAIN TOMORROW MORNING, AND
PROBABLY CONCLUDE THE REMAINING AGENDA ITEMS.
THEN I EXPECT WE WILL HAVE SERIOUS SALT SESSION IN THE AFTERNOON.
VANCE

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